563 [162] They are subdivided into three fractions: Oulad Elías, Oulad Asseroum, and Oulad Fassi, grouping about 120 people.

[233] They possess about 100 camels and 280 to 300 goats. They formerly occupied the small centers of cultivation of Sékaïa and Tagemout, [423 241] which they own, but which they abandoned for lack of water and manpower. Very religious, they are for the most part affiliated with the sect of the Tijaniyyah; [795 788] four or five of them adhere to Senusism /Sanusiyyah sect. Ed./. They have among their number two pilgrims who have made the trip to Mecca, a very rare feat.

[669] In 1904 they were completely raided by Lieutenant Besset and kept out of the revolt of 1916-1918.

The Kel in Rhar'. -- The Kel In Rhar' probably owe their name to the village of In Rhar' in the Tidikelt, where they must have lived before coming to settle in the Tâfedest.

[173] /200/ Their oral tradition relates that they were conquered by Sultan Goma and bestowed upon the Kel Rela at the time of the division of the Imrad.

[162] Numbering about 150 persons, they camp on the eastern side of the Tâfedest, and also nomadize in the region of Méniet and in the Immidir.

[233] Before World War I they owned nearly 800 camels and 1, 500 sheep and goats. Their camel livestock has now fallen to 200 head.

[241 423] They own gardens at Mertoutek, a little center which belongs to them entirely, and at I-n-Âmegal, Déhine, and Âbézou.

[795] Like the Ihéiaouen Hâda, they are mostly affiliated with the Tijaniyyah sect.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they refused to rise against us, which caused them to be raided by the Ajjer Tuareg.

[224] They are renowned as very great hunters of wild sheep.

[65] The Kel In Rhar' annually pay the aménokal six bags of dates and a young camel.

[162] The Kel Tâfedest. -- The Kel Tâfedest or Kel Tégatoufé (or ant people) are a very poor small fraction including some 50 persons, 18 of them women.

1:Lhote--66b E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Plate XII

Hunting with dogs is common among the Tuareg, who use saluki something like Arabian greyhounds for the purpose. Their eklan /Iklan? Ed./ are often famous hunters. In this photograph we see one of them holding two dogs on a leash and getting ready to go track wild sheep.

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Besides hunting with dogs, the Tuareg engage in trapping. Here we see a trap with radial points being set. The lasso is being tied to a big tree branch sunk in the ground and hidden by a layer of sand.

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439 cotton clothes, and Sudanese-made lithams /veils/. Then after
484 two months of rest spent in the Sudan, during which time the camels revel in the rich pasture, they all set out again for the Ahaggar, where they arrive from January on. February and March see them leave again for the Tidikelt or Touat. At that time they take only a few camels and exchange the excess manufactured articles which they collected in the Sudan and trade dried mutton for dates. This trip lasts an average of two months, and toward the end of April everyone is back in the Ahaggar, as a rule. There is a rest of a few weeks, and everyone thinks about the next salt campaign he is going to have to prepare.

Thus we see a complete caravan cycle which, by itself, could allow the Tuareg a normal life. But as we have said, it implies a [461] state of peace which was previously the exception, as well as an amount of work to be furnished which is not always in harmony with the warlike tastes of the Imochar.

• 224 Hunting supplies some employment for the Tuareg, as does gathering. But both of them are only uncertain pastimes, without 221 much profit. The life of the Tuareg may thus be summed up in a few lines: basic animal husbandry doubled by brigandage raised to the state of an institution, and accessorily by some caravaneering. Now we shall see the domestic life of the Tuareg.

/221/

Chapter 2

Dwellings

361 The camp. -- The camp is the traditional Tuareg form of
621 habitation; it is connected with nomadism which always implies animal husbandry. It includes a certain number of people gathered together under a patriarchal authority by very close bonds of kinship.

234 to extract all the water, and then dry them on /235/ small screens placed in the branches of trees. It goes without saying that cheese making is very rare in the Ahaggar and that the Tuareg make it [438] particularly when they are nomadizing in the Sudan. Every year the Ihăggaren bring back large supplies of cheese from their stay in the Sudanese zone; these cheeses, dry as a bone, are either made by the Ihăggaren or bought from the southern tribes. They make 252 an important contribution to the Tuareg diet. These dry cheeses 262 are ground in a mortar and reduced to small fragments so that they have the consistency of flour. Then they are mixed with food, either in bĕchena gruel or in a drink of bĕchena flour and dates.

262 It might be supposed that meat plays a very large role in the Tuareg diet. But let us recall one of our old French proverbs which says that the shoemaker is always the worst shod. We could apply this adage to herders, who perhaps eat less meat than anyone else. A herder has animals for the use of their products, but he very seldom eats them, for each butchering is a loss of capital.

Indeed, the Tuareg kill their animals only under very unusual [233] circumstances, especially at the time of religious and family festivals. These killings recall somewhat the religious meaning of sacrifices. This does not mean that they do not like meat, for when they raid a rival camp, they hasten to make drastic inroads on the smaller livestock and eat until they are about to burst.

224 Hunting furnishes them a little additional meat. Each year 262 they kill a certain number of gazelles and wild sheep, eating part [251] of the meat fresh and drying the rest to keep it on hand.

They capture star lizards (Uromastix acanthinurus), jerboas, 222 gondi (Ctenodactylus sp.), sometimes even jackals and hares. We 262 can add to their meat diet grasshoppers (Shistocerca gregaria), [224] which they grill in the embers and then dry in order to pulverize [252] them. All Saharian nomads are very fond of grasshoppers, and since remotest antiquity some North African tribes are supposed to

222 have made them the base of their diet; for this reason they were
262 nicknamed acridophages. The Nasamonians of Herodotus prepared them in the same way the Tuareg do, and the /236/ similar diets of the two peoples is perhaps not pure coincidence.

There are a few fish ponds in the Ahaggar, but the Imochar
226 and the Imrad do not eat the flesh of these animals; only the
262 Issekkemâren catch barbels and sometimes catfish, or rather they gather them up in the wadis after floods, for they do not know how to fish, properly speaking.

262 The sedentary peoples raise chickens, but the Tuareg do not eat them either, since they consider the meat impure. The same interdict is extended to eggs. The only bird which is an exception is the ostrich. There are no longer any ostriches in the Sahara, but
[223] when the Ihaggaren go to the Sudan they capture them if they have the chance; in addition, they eat ostrich eggs cooked in the ashes.

262 Times of scarcity were sometimes experienced. They are rare
731 now that caravans can circulate freely, but they were much more frequent when the state of war continued for a long time. The
224 Tuareg fell back on wild plants which do not generally enter into their diet: the young growths of tahlé (Typha elephantina), the
[824] leaves of the tanekfit (Eruca aurea) and the aramas (Atriplex halimus), the underground stems of the danoun (Cistanche lutea) which resembles asparagus, and many other plants of very dubious food value,
[252] which they ate to assuage their hunger. The state of famine can become so pronounced that they sometimes gather up old bones, grind them up, reduce them to flour, and make gruels of them. It
[509] goes without saying that it is during these periods that pillaging is at its height. People steal from camp to camp, from tribe to tribe, and everyone forgets his brother and his friend, thinking of only one thing -- survival by any means.

252 They may not heat camel's milk which has just been milked
825 under penalty of causing sickness to the animal which gave it.

264 Insofar as personal interdicts are concerned, there are none to speak of, for although men and women must not eat together, this is a custom rather than an interdict.

[606] A married man must not eat with his parents-in-law, and the oldest son must not eat with his father. These are mainly marks of respect, perhaps traces of ancient practices of a religious nature.

/240/ Chapter 4

Hunting and Fishing

080 We shall now say a few words on the industries allied to the problems of food, that is, on hunting, fishing, animal husbandry, and agriculture.

136 Hunting. -- In a country where fauna was at all dense, hunting
174 would have brought a not inconsiderable dietary supplement to the Ihaggaren. In the past it was very much esteemed in the Sahara. Many rock drawings and paintings prove this, for they depict hunting scenes which interpret the state of civilization of the men, their preoccupation, and at the same time the nature of the fauna, which has changed a great deal since then.

[132] Today, with the very advanced drying out of almost all the Saharian districts, the fauna has come out into the open and the
● 224 species likely to be usefully hunted are reduced to a few. Only gazelles and wild sheep are still hunted. We cannot mention the addax and oryx antelopes, for the former is in the process of becoming extinct in the Sahara, while the second is confined to the steppe zone. The hare and jackal may be accessorily added.

224 Among the Tuareg hunting is the business of a few men, a few [463] specialists who have made it their profession; however, we see a [567] large proportion of Iklan who seem to have more aptitude and more taste for hunting than their masters. There is certainly an atavistic character in this, a vestige of ancestral mores influenced by the original forest environment, where hunting was most often the basis of human activity. But it is nonetheless true that many Tuareg are very good hunters. The most renowned seem to be among the Issekkemâren and the Dag Râli.

224 Hunting with hounds is the most popular. They hunt wild sheep 231 and gazelles with saluki-type greyhounds, who serve at the same time as camp dogs /241/ for the Tuareg. These animals, who stand tall, belong to a race halfway between the Kabyle dog and the Berber saluki and must also possess jackal blood. They are particularly suited for running and have innate talent for hunting.

224 The hunter's job is to track down the animal, to succeed in discovering him, either grazing or in his lair, and to set the dogs on him at the propitious moment when he does not expect it and at a suitable distance. An epic battle between the animal and the dogs sometimes results from this; often the battle necessitates the man's intervention, for example when there is a wild sheep which does not hesitate to confront its assailants. The hunter, who is [411] usually armed with a long javeline with a wooden shaft, then tries to stick his weapon in the animal's body and kill it. When it is a question of gazelles, he only needs let the dogs alone. If they can catch it, the animal will be quickly neutralized by the powerful jaws of the saluki.

Beside the common hunting with hounds, the Tuareg engage in trapping, which is a lazy method of hunting. It is all the more appreciated in the Sahara because game is rare and wary, and a certain amount of luck is always involved in capturing it.

The Ihaggaren use two types of traps: traps with radial points and torsion traps in the shape of an arc.

●224 The radial-point trap is the one described by Montandon (1)

1. Traité d'ethnologie culturelle /A Dissertation on Cultural Ethnology/, p. 222, fig. 8.

[M] and was already known by the Egyptians. It is spread over all of central and intertropical Africa. It is composed of a disk made of vegetable matter to which are attached the stems of rather resistant graminaceae which converge toward the center. The apparatus is placed on a little pit with a diameter a little less than its own, then covered over with straw /242/ and sand. It is arranged under trees whose leaves are still green and which the gazelles come to browse on. While going around the tree, the beasts finally step on it, and the hoof which passes through the stems is caught in the disk. In spite of all efforts and movements, the disk remains attached, thus preventing the animal from getting away. The hunter then steps in. He gets on the animal's trail, follows it, and finally catches up with it. He kills it with a thrust of his lance. Sometimes a lasso is placed on the disk with its end attached to the trunk of the tree or to an old stump.

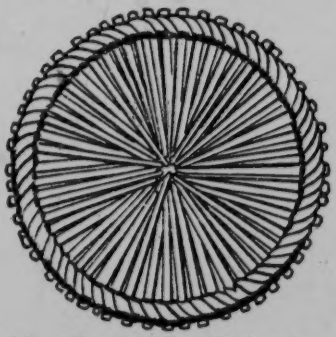

Fig. 33. Trap with radial points used to capture gazelles.

The torsion trap in the shape of an arch is a more complicated system. It is composed of a fragment of oryx antelope horn on [383] which is set a layer of tendons coming from the same animal and

224 which is rolled up on a stick, one end of which is cut in a point. A [237] second apparatus consists in a little wooden disk covered with hide, the whole mounted on another stick a little longer than that of the first apparatus which is embedded between the layer and the arc, while the pointed stick is fastened in the hole of a bead or on a little leather ring fixed on the leather disk. A lasso is placed on this disk, and its end is fastened on the main part of the pointed stick.

This trap is generally placed on the paths frequented by gazelles and lightly covered with sand. If the animal puts its foot on the leather disk, the pressure that it causes unhooks the pointed stick; the shock of this can break a paw and in any case it tightens the lasso around the paw.

[177 More recently the Tuareg have used the metallic spring trap 324 of the English type, which their blacksmiths now know how to make. They have replaced the balanced bait pan by a taut skin on which they have attached a large glass bead. The bait is fixed to the bead and is more sensitive to the touch. This trap may accidentally catch gazelles, but the most common catches are hares and jackals.

224 The Tuareg hunt on the lands over which they range and have 423 no right to hunt on the lands of the neighboring tribes. If such a case occurred, they would be obliged to give the game to the owners of the area. The latter may at least grant back part of the meat, but they keep the skin, especially when it is a wild sheep.

/243/ Some regions are the hunting fief of a single man. So, in the Koudia, no one has the right to hunt on Tahat Peak without the permission of its owner, who is a descendant of the old Isebeten tribe. At any rate, the skin, head, and half of the animal must be handed over to him.

224 The Ahaggar Tuareg have had rapid-firing guns at their 411 disposal for a few years. They are not good shots, but they know admirably well how to approach game, so that they have made massive massacres which will take a long time to repair.

224 The administration fortunately has decided to confiscate these [411 648] weapons.

It is very difficult to get an exact idea of the number of animals killed annually by hunters. But we believe we are close to accurate in giving the figure 300. Thus we say that hunting holds a very small place in Ahaggar Tuareg economy.

226 Fishing. -- Fishing is not done by the Tuareg for the reasons [184] we have given. Only the Issekkemâren and the Iklan engage in it. They fish when the pond water is very low. In the Tassili they dig little ditches on the lower side at water level, leading to little reservoirs where the fish find refuge and are then surely caught.

[251] When fishing has been fruitful, the Issekkemâren dry the fish to keep them for periods of scarcity.

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Chapter 5

Agriculture

241 The Ahaggar Tuareg have never attached more than a very secondary importance to agriculture. Their nomadic turn of mind is at the opposite pole from land ownership and still more from exploiting it, which implies sedentary life. There are, however, a number of centers of cultivation in their country; they are of undeniable interest and could be extended more widely if improper legislation did not hinder their development.

177 The creation of most of these centers of cultivation does not go back more than a century. It was accomplished under the in-241 fluence of Arab groups settled in the Ahaggar. Only the Silet and Tibeghîn oases are much older and probably date from the time of the Imanan sultans who had brought into the Ahaggar some

usually satisfied with milk, "akh, " fresh ("akh oua kefaïen" ⵅⴼⵓⴰⴽⵅ) or sour ("akh iezza", ⵉⵣⵣⴰⴽⵅ), at the hour when the camels, sheep, or goats come in from pasture.

The basic food of the Ahaggar Tuareg consists of bechna, "inelli" (white-grain sorghum, Graminaceae), dates, "teïni, " and milk, "akh. " ⵜⵉⵏⵉⵜ

But their country provides them with many resources which they are careful not to neglect, especially the poor, the "tileqqiouin" ⵜⵉⵍⴰⴽⴽⵉⵡⵉⵏ , who constitute the majority.

All the "imr'ad" go to harvest the grains of "toulloult" and "afezzou. " Women, children, youths, negroes and negresses go into the wadis to gather the harvest, which takes place from May to June for "toulloult" and from July to the end of September for "afezzou. " /29/

Dautheville

Idelès (Koudia)

Usually, before the harvest several wadis are forbidden territory, and camels are not led there until the harvest is finished.

The produce is gathered and put into hide sacks. After the grains have dried, they need only to be put onto small trays of "afezzou, " called "tissiin, " which are shaken, and the hulls fall off and remain on top. The grains are ground to powder, and a kind of gruel is made with water or butter.

The Tuareg are also very fond of "tikamarin" ⵜⵉⴽⴰⵎⴰⵔⵉⵏ , cheeses as hard as wood which they get from Aïr. They grind them in mortars and mix them in their food.

They very seldom eat meat, except that of game which they can kill in a hunt: gazelles, mountain sheep, and antelopes. But often they prefer to smoke this game in order to go and sell it in the Tidikelt.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

Sub-Areas of the Territory of the Agouh-en-Tehele Clan.

(The clan is divided into three sub-clans named Kel Tarhaouhaout, Isandan, and Kel Rafia).

Tenants	Value of Sub-Area	Annual Land-Rent to the Amenokal
SAMA-ALATOKH, Chief of the Agouh-en-Tehele, Chief of the sub-clan Kel Tarhaouhaout, Leader of the section named Kel Tôles.	Cultivation grounds at Tarhaouhaout and In Daledge. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys for domestication.	2 donkeys
OMANA, Khalifa of the Ihenkaren section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan.	Hunting of barbary sheep. Collecting of wild seeds.	3 goats
ABERGIALI, Khalifa of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan.	Hunting of barbary sheep.	2 goats
KHOFA of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. No position as leader.	Cultivation grounds at Inagriouel and In Deledjé. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys.	2 donkeys
DEINI, Chief of the Kel Rafia sub-clan.	No particular value.	No land-rent.
AKAOUALI, Chief of the Isandan sub-clan, Leader of the Kel Afrahaouhine section.	Cultivation grounds at Tahifet. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys.	1 donkey
HANOU, Khalifa of the Kel Azernan section of the Isandan sub-clan.	Cultivation grounds at Tamanrasset. In the past wild donkeys.	1 donkey
KHOSENI, Khalifa of the Relaiddin now attached to the Agouh-en-Tehele clan.	Khoseni is in command of this [illegible] to which all members of the Relaiddin have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the Amenokal.	

621 427 614 283 651 224 423.

clans. There are in Ahaggar as in Air joking relationships between Tuareg of different classes, but the two vassal clans considered the oldest in the Kel Rela drum-group, the Dag Rali and the Ait Loalen, will never joke with people of other classes. Other vassal clans and in particular the Agouh-en-Tehele have joking with noble clans and also with clans of the Isekkemaren class. Between the Agouh-en-Tehele and the Isekkemaren clans a fixed rule of gift-exchange is observed when they visit each other. When the Agouh-en-Tehele people come to the Isekkemaren they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the Isekkemaren visiting the Agouh-en-Tehele. It should be noted in this context that relatives who practise joking and avoidance frequently exchange gifts although in such cases there are no fixed rules for the kind of objects given.

000 565 614 [431] [602]

[Text continues on p. 110]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

Sub-Areas of the Territory of the Dag Rali Clan.

(The clan is divided into two matrilineages: 1) the Dag Rali proper comprising most members of the Kel Tamanrasset and the Kel Terhananet sections, 2) the Imesiliten comprising most members of the Kel Hirhafok and the Kel Tiñhart sections.

Tenants	Name and Value of Sub-Area	Land-Rent to the Amenokal
DANGOCHI, Clan chief belonging to the Kel Tamanrasset section. Rights to this subarea is not necessarily vested in the chief.	ISEKRAM Hunting of barbary sheep. – (For every four or five barbary sheep killed one is given to the tenant).	2 goats
JERKIE, of the Kel Tamanrasset section.	TADJEMART No particular value.	2 water bags, 1 rope of goat's hair.
AMMA, of the Kel Terhananet section	ARECHCHOUM No particular value.	2 water bags, 1 rope of goat's hair.
KHABTE, of the Kel Tamanrasset section. ARKASSEN, of the Kel Terhananet section.	IN DALADJ Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys.	1 donkey
AFARAK, of the Kel Hirhafok section.	AKALARAREN Hunting of barbary sheep.	Unknown
BOUSKEAS & DEMONI, two brothers of the Kel Tiñhart section.	TAHAT Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months. Domestic animals never graze in this area.	Formerly three barbary sheep (present rent unknown).
DANGOCHI, Clan chief representing the two sections of Kel Tamanrasset and Kel Terhananet.	ABELESSA A very extended area comprising the village of Abelessa and many other agricultural settlements.	No land-rent as the Amenokal receives dues from crops of every garden in this area.
DANGOCHI, Clan chief representing the two sections of Kel Tamanrasset and Kel Terhananet. Land-rent is paid collectively by members of the two sections.	TAESSA Important hunting ground for barbary sheep. – Domestic animals are never allowed to graze in this subarea, and barbary sheep are protected for three months every year.	1 donkey (formerly four barbary sheep) (In this particular case an annual land-rent comprising two hides of barbary sheep (formerly two barbary sheep) is also given to Dangochi as clan chief).

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

It is stated in literature that clan territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for clan members. Lhote says that nobody has the right to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign clans without permission from their chiefs or from the Amenokal (Lhote 1955, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that clan territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a clan, and it is said that this might also happen in the past. Possibly the territory of a clan was once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but clan territories were and are divided into sub-areas the rights to which generally are vested in individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for collecting wild seeds, or they have soil and water suitable for irrigation agriculture. A few areas have all these qualities. I shall briefly mention the sub-areas of the two vassal clans Agouh-en-Tehele and Dag Rali. In the lists (p. 108 f.) are indicated the tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the Amenokal, who is the true master of the land inhabited by clans of his drum-group.

For the land-rent *(ehare-n-amerdal)* paid to the Amenokal the tenants obtain the following rights over their sub-areas:-

1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

2) They have the right to half of all wild donkeys caught in their areas.

3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81. – Foley 1930, p. 43f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide, the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 109).

4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden, but for sub-areas of the Dag Rali clan they are now given to the Amenokal. In the Agouh-en-Tehele clan the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatos.

Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the Amenokal, and the indemnity belongs to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for violation of protected pastures.

136 /31 cont./ next to those habitually found in Mediterranean zones or on the Sudanese steppes. Some are frequently found in the Ahaggar or are often spoken of by the natives.

The gazelle (alenkad), a small, elegant, delicate animal, is found almost everywhere, from the first spurs of the Mouydir up to the frontier of the Niger. It likes pastures of alommoz, a small grass that quivers in the slightest breeze; this is why gazelles are particularly numerous in the Tin-Zaouaten region and in the wadis bordering the Tanezrouft. At certain times of the year, it is not unusual to see herds of 50 head.

[224] The gazelle is protected by hunting laws, but it protects itself even better by avoiding the regions inhabited by man. Because of this, the number of these animals seems to be almost constant.

Nearly all the mountains of the Ahaggar harbor wild sheep (oudad). This splendid animal, characteristic of the country, haunts all the peaks, even those seemingly inaccessible.

136 224 The Tuareg formerly hunted wild sheep with spears; they now use rifles. A small tribe, the Ibardjien, were specialists in this sport; with their dogs trained for this work, the men tracked the game and dispatched it with spears. This tribe is dying out, and this type of hunting will disappear with it. The Adjouh n'Téhélé and the Dag Rali kill a few animals during the year, either with rifles or by trapping them with a noose tied to a log.

136 It is difficult to determine with any degree of accuracy whether the number of wild sheep is increasing or decreasing.

There are practically no antelopes still living in the Ahaggar; only a few rare individuals ascend the valleys of the Adrar des Iforas and are seen at the edge of the southern tassilis.

The most widespread of the carnivores is the jackal. One sees it everywhere, on the lookout for wounded gazelles, following the tracks of small animals, avidly eyeing the herds /32/ of goats. The presence of this animal is a veritable nightmare for the young mountain shepherds.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 85. Tuareg breaking in a young newly-caught donkey. The donkey is prevented from escaping by means of hobble-ropes (*téffart* and *amahus*) and is also tethered to an acacia tree. Ahaggar, the *Ajjah-en-tehlé* tribe.

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[175] skin (Duveyrier 1864, p. 231). It is most possible that the taboo on donkey's meat and skin is due to Islam – meat of donkeys and horses is considered unlawful by the Ḳoran. Leo Africanus states that the nomads of the Sahara eat meat of donkeys which they catch in snares (Leo Africanus II, p. 944).

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224 The wild donkeys, or asses, of Tuareg countries are very shy, and it is most impressive to watch a herd of some twenty animals galloping over the desert plains. Because of their shyness they are often hunted much in the same way as game animals. Among the Northern Tuareg they are caught in the spiked wheel-trap, are run down by men mounted on camels, or are driven into closed river valleys surrounded by steep rocky walls. In certain parts of Ayr wild donkeys can be caught in the same way – notably in valleys of Mount Tamgak (Northern Ayr) and around Anu Mekkeren (Central Ayr) – while the method of running down wild donkeys with riding camels is said not to be practised. Whether the so-called spiked wheel-trap is used for catching donkeys or not, I do not know, as the Ayr country is very extensive and inhabited by Tuareg of different origins. The Tuareg belonging to the *Kel Ferwan* group claimed that it was not used for donkeys or asses for which they have a kind of snare called *tuyut*, which is also the name used among them for the noosed rope connected with the spiked wheel-

[283] trap. The snare used for donkeys is said to consist of a rope some twenty or thirty metres long and plaited from dum palm leaves. The rope is noosed at one end to be used as follows:— The loop is laid out where donkeys come to drink, the whole rope being covered with sand. The hunter lies hidden behind some natural object, a rock or tree, and when a donkey puts one of its legs within the

[231] loop he pulls the rope. It is said that this method is also sometimes used for other domestic animals which have gone wild, as happens frequently with oxen. But it is never used for hunting proper game animals such as gazelle, antelope, and barbary sheep. To catch domestic animals which have gone

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wild the Ayr Tuareg also know another type of snare, or rather lasso, which is also known as *tuyumt*. It consists of a long rope noosed at one end, but the loop in this case is thrown against the animal by means of a short forked stick. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that this type of lasso is not widely found among them, and claim it is typical of and traditional for the pastoral Fulani, who use it to catch cows which are difficult to approach.

The wild donkeys caught for domestication are young animals, for very old ones cannot be tamed. When an animal is caught by one of the above mentioned methods it is beaten a heavy blow between the ears so that it falls unconscious to the ground. It is thereupon given a rope around its mouth, for wild donkeys are fierce and have a dangerous bite, and is also tied with ropes around its legs so that it cannot run. When the animal comes to after the blow it is led to the camp where it is tethered. It remains tethered and fitted with hobble-ropes in the camp for one or two months during which period it gets a very brutal treatment. It is trained for riding by the men who mount it daily during this period of training (cf. Fig. 85) until it can be ridden as freely as domestic donkeys. The Tuareg say that not all donkeys survive the heavy blow on the head but that most of them do.

Donkeys constitute the important riding animal of all vassal women, and there are also some men of the true vassal class who ride donkeys though most of them have riding camels. Donkeys are also extremely important pack-animals. They are used by most Tuareg for the transportation of tents and

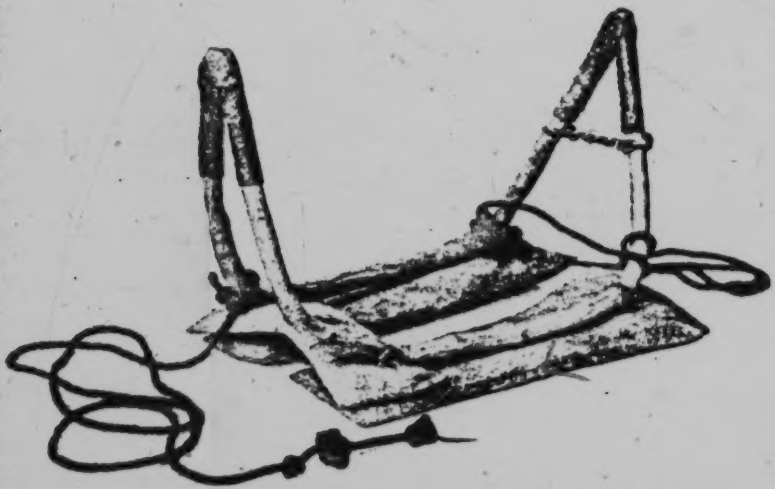

Fig. 86. Donkey saddle (*arnka*) of the type described in detail in the text (cf. p. 110). It is fixed to the animal by two cords of goat's hair: the girth (left), the cord passing under the tail (right). Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.585 m long, 0.360 broad. (N.M. G. 5246).

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Fig. 90. Tuareg dogs of the breed which is common among the Ayr Tuareg. Dogs suffer much from heat in summer when they hide under water-bags. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

DOGS

231 The Northern Tuareg distinguish between three types of dogs (sing. *eydi*) as follows:— (1) a long-haired breed (*aberhoh*); (2) a short-haired slender breed (*akhamí*); (3) a very slender and elegantly
[173] built greyhound (*oska*) (Fig. 91). The Ahaggar Tuareg speak of a tradition, according to which the greyhound (*oska*) was introduced fairly recently through contacts with the Northern Arabs. The Ayr Tuareg do not make similar distinctions between dog breeds. They have only one breed which is known as *ijji* (Fig. 90). It is short-haired and slenderly built though less so than the true Arab greyhound.

[136] Dogs are kept to guard the camp and in particular to protect the animals from the attack of jackals or hyenas during night. If the Tuareg had no dogs it would be most difficult for them to breed goats and sheep. Dogs may also follow the flocks in daytime to protect the animals against beasts of prey, though this is not generally considered necessary. Dogs are not trained as "sheep-dogs", but it is said that a few "intelligent" dogs will assist the herdsman in keeping the flock together during grazing,
[224] and many dogs will drive away domestic animals which belong to foreign flocks. Some Tuareg use dogs in hunting barbary sheep, gazelle, antelope, and hare (cf. hunting, p. 159, 166).

[171] It is well-known that the Arabs consider the dog an unclean animal. This is also so among Arab nomads of the Sahara, but they do not consider their greyhounds unclean in this sense. Thus pastoralists of the Chamba group told me that among them a fine greyhound is esteemed in much the same way as are noble riding horses and camels. The Tuareg have very few true greyhounds and
[521] I do not believe that they have this same feeling of interest in them. But many children and young
[541] people are fond of all types of dogs, and one can hear them discuss the qualities of their animals and the daily dogfights which are considered a kind of entertainment to everybody in the camp.

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Sub-areas of the territory of the Dag Rali tribe

(The tribe is divided into two halves:— (1) the *Dag Rali* proper comprising the sections named *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet*, (2) the *Imessiliten* comprising the two sections named *Kel Hérhafek* and *Kel Teñhart*)

Tenants	Name and value of sub-area	Annual land-rent to the *Amenukal*
DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe and leader of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section	ISEKRAM Hunting of barbary sheep. For every four or five barbary sheep killed one is given to the tenant	2 goats
YEḲI of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section	TAĠMART No particular value	2 water bags 1 rope of goat's hair
AMMA of the *Kel Terhenanet* section	AṚECHCHUM No particular value	2 water bags 1 rope of goat's hair
KHABTÉ of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section & AKHASEN of the *Kel Terhenanet* section	I-N-DALAĠ Hunting of barbary sheep Wild donkeys	1 donkey
AFAREḲ of the *Kel Hérhafek* section	AKAL-EREṚEN Hunting of barbary sheep	Unknown
BUSKEYAS & DEMONI, two brothers of the *Kel Teñhart* section	TAHAT Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months annually. Domestic animals never graze in this sub-area	Formerly three barbary sheep (present rent unknown)
[361] DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe representing the two sections *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet*	ABALESSA A very extended area comprising the village of Abalessa and other agricultural settlements	No land-rent as the *Amenukal* receives dues for every garden in this area
DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe representing the two sections of *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet* Land-rent is paid collectively by members of the two sections	TEẒẒA Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months annually. Domestic animals never graze in this sub-area	1 donkey (formerly four barbary sheep). (In this particular case an annual land-rent comprising two hides of barbary sheep (formerly two barbary sheep) are also given to Danguchi as tribal chief)

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Sub-areas of the territory of the Aguh-en-tehlé tribe

(The tribe is divided into three sub-tribes named Kel *Taṛhawhawt*, *Isandan*, and *Kel Aṛefsa*)

Tenants	Value of sub-area	Annual land-rent to the *Amenukal*
SAMA ALATOKH, chief of the *Aguh-en-tehlé*, chief of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt*, leader of the section *Kel Twes*	Cultivation grounds at Taṛhawhawt and I-n-dalag Hunting of barbary sheep Wild donkeys for domestication	2 donkeys
OMANA, *khalifa* (leader) of the *Ikenkeren* section of the sub-tribe Kel *Taṛhawhawt*	Hunting of barbary sheep Collecting of wild seeds	3 goats
ABERĠALI, *khalifa* of the *Kel Tarayin* section of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt*	Hunting of barbary sheep	2 goats
KHOFA of the *Kel Tarayin* section. No position as leader	Cultivation grounds at I-n-agriwal and I-n-dalag. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys	2 donkeys
DEYNI, chief of the *Kel Aṛefsa* sub-tribe forming only one section	No particular value	No land-rent
AKAWALI, chief of the *Isandan* sub-tribe and leader of the *Kel Afaṛa-ke hin* section	Cultivation grounds at Tahifet Hunting of barbary sheep Wild donkeys	1 donkey
HANU, *khalifa* of the *Kel Azernen* section of the *Isandan* sub-tribe	Cultivation grounds at Tamanṛaset In the past wild donkeys	1 donkey
KHOSENI, *khalifa* of the *Ṛelayddin* now attached to the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe	*Khoseni* is in command of the *Ṛelayddin* territory to which all members of the *Ṛelayddin* have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the *Amenukal*	

The Ahaggar Tuareg have various terms to indicate the size of a camp. A large camp is always known as *amezzaṛ*, while a small camp is called *éṛéwen* or *tamezzak*. These two terms are used to distinguish between goat-camps and section camps (camel camps) though they do not have so absolute a meaning. Two camps placed close to each other (100–200 metres between them, whether of the same tribe or not) are known as *heregen* (or *amezzaṛ n heregen*) and a camp very far from wells or water pools is called *aharaġen*. Apart from the migrations between the *Abada* and the *Atakor* zones and those beyond Ahaggar in case of severe drought, nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg are not very extensive and occur within a limited area. The Ahaggar Tuareg are not "grands nomades" like

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many tribes of the northern desert, and migrations are on the whole independent of caravan trading. Migrations are to some extent determined by agriculture in cases where the households possess irrigated gardens cultivated on their behalf by the *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaren*). Some goat-camps may move their tents close to the agricultural settlements when wheat and barley are harvested in April. Date palm-owning Tuareg of two vassal tribes (*Iklan-en-tawsit* and *Ikechchemaden*) will also visit the oases of Silet and Tibeghin where dates are harvested in August and September. But the Tuareg visiting these oases will generally not take flocks and tents with them when collecting their dates, which are harvested mainly by black-skinned *Ḥarratin* of Abalessa. It should once more be mentioned that most Ahaggar tribes in dry years keep their camel herds outside of Ahaggar – mainly in Tamesna – and the members of a section have their herds guarded collectively in these distant regions.

The territory of a vassal tribe is generally divided into sub-areas, the right to which is vested in individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for the collection of wild seeds, or have soil and water suitable for agriculture. A few areas possess all these qualities. I have studied the division of the tribal territory into sub-areas only in the two tribes *Dag Ṛali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé*. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe there is a certain correspondance between sections and sub-areas in the way that most sub-areas belong to individuals of the matrilineage which forms the core of a particular section. Consequently the Tuareg of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe sometimes speak of sub-areas as section territories. However, two tribal sections living outside the tribal territory have no particular sub-areas, and one section has two sub-areas, the rights to which are vested in two individual tenants (cf. p. 149). In the *Dag Ṛali* tribe there are more sub-areas than tribal sections, and some sub-areas have two tenants who belong to distinct tribal sections, members of which all have the right to use these sub-areas (cf. p. 148). When a tenant dies his rights to a sub-area should be taken over by a maternal kinsman who lives in the section to which he belongs matrilineally. Tenants of sub-areas are frequently section-leaders. In the lists p. 148-149 where I mention the sub-areas in the *Dag Ṛali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribes are indicated the names of tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the *Amenukal*, who is the true master of the land inhabited by tribes of the *Kel Rela* drum-group.

For the land-rent (*éhéré-n-amaḍal*) paid to the *Amenukal* the tenants obtain the following rights over their sub-areas:—

(1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

(2) They have the right to half of all the wild donkeys caught in their areas.

(3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant, while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81; Foley 1930, p. 43 f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide,

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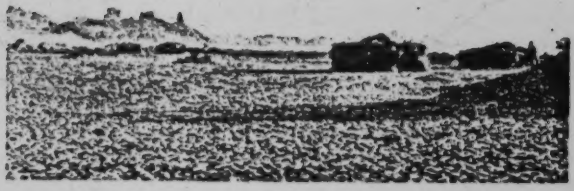

Fig. 108. A camp of two related goat-herding units with their straw-huts (*ikebran*, of the cylindrical type) placed at a certain distance from each other in order that the two flocks shall not mix. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Uhet* tribe (*Ineššemaren*).

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224 the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955a, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 148).

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241 (4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden in their sub-areas, but for sub-areas of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe these payments are now given to the *Amenukal* because, it is said, the *Dag Ṛali* Tuareg consider such dues incompatible with Islamic law. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatoes.

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643 Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the *Amenukal*, the indemnity falling to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for the violation of protected pastures. Nowadays the price is determined by the *Amenukal*. When a tenant
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[428] dies his rights and obligations should preferably be taken over by a maternal kinsman. Traditionally
613 the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved to people of the same section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole tribe they belong to all tribal members. These traditional rules, however, do not seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for the hunting of barbary
[114] sheep in certain areas. Lhote seems to be wrong in stating that the chief of the tribe has the right to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole tribal territory (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). In the two tribes here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

AYR

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233 The Ayr Tuareg follow the Islamic rules of inheritance described from Ahaggar p. 137 f., and property
[428] marks as in Ahaggar are patrilineally inherited in the way that people take over their father's mark. However, property marks play a less important role in Ayr, where the Tuareg with the exception of the *Igdalen* Tuareg (vassals) do not mark goats, sheep, and cattle. Other tribes of Ayr mark only camels and donkeys, and branding with a redhot iron as well as earmarks cut with a knife are used for these animals. Both types of marks are known as *éjwel*. Some Ayr Tuareg and all Tuareg of the *Kel Geres* group use brands for camels and donkeys, and this seems also to be the case with the
[113] *Iwillemmeden Kel Dennek*. Some of the brands used among the *Kel Ayr* are published by Rodd and Nicolas (Rodd 1926a, pl. 21 p. 195; Nicolas 1950a, p. 268 f.). The earmarks used for camels and

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Among Northern Tuareg vassals donkeys are tended by women, who use them for riding and transportation over short distances. Tuareg men rarely ride donkeys, but the assistance of men is needed in connection with some of the tasks of donkey-breeding:—

It may become desirable to increase the stock of donkeys by catching wild animals as already described above. This is always done by men who also break-in the captured animals for riding. The assistance of men is also frequently needed for catching half-wild, though domesticated donkeys.

The marking of donkeys, castration, which is rarely performed, and the curing of diseases, which are also rare, are said to be tasks which should properly be carried out by men.

Vassal women only tend camels when all men are absent from their camp.

The above rules of division of labour are in general also valid in Ayr among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. But there are in Ayr vassal Tuareg who have no camels and vassal men in Ayr frequently ride donkeys. The tending of cows in Ayr is mainly the work of women, who are also more familiar with cattle terms than are the men. – Among the *Kel Ewey* the skinning of goats and sheep, as well as the partition of the meat, are done by women.

In the Tuareg groups I have studied both men and women inherit camels, goats, sheep, and donkeys according to Islamic rules of inheritance.

Fig. 110. The skinning of a gazelle placed upon straw of *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ahaggar, the *Taytoq* tribe.

Hunting

For the pastoral Tuareg hunting is not an important occupation, and nowadays it is practised mainly by those few Tuareg who possess rifles or guns. Traditional hunting methods are thus of far less consequence than in the past, but some of them are very interesting and most significant for a historical analysis of Tuareg culture.

AHAGGAR

Northern Tuareg areas are not very rich in game. In Ahaggar the main types of game are the gazelle (*ahenkod*, fem. *tahenkot*; *Gazella dorcas* sp.) and the barbary sheep (*udad*; *Ammotragus lervia*). The big gazelle (*ɛwir*; *Gazella dama permista*) and the addax antelope (*amellul*; *Addax nasomaculatus*) are very rare; they are occasionally seen in the plains outside of the mountains. The ostrich (*auhel*; *Struthio camelus*) was very common in the past, but is now exterminated.

The small gazelle is rare and shy within the Ahaggar Massif, while fairly abundant and comparatively easy to hunt with a rifle in the northernmost massifs and their surrounding plains. Of seven camps visited in Ahnet 1954, gazelle hunting was engaged in by the members of two households, and I estimate that they killed one or two gazelles every week. In most camps of the Northern Tuareg there are no true gazelle hunters, and when a rare gazelle is killed its meat is easily eaten in one day by the members of a single household – in addition to three or four pounds of wheat-bread or millet-porridge. Gazelle skin is of little practical value to Tuareg craft. It is not generally used for the manufacture of important domestic articles such as water bags and containers for milk and butter, but it is suitable and much esteemed for certain types of decorated leather work and for fine leather cords, e.g., necklaces for amulet cases, reins for riding camels.

Barbary sheep are extremely shy, and they live mainly in inaccessible mountains. They are still fairly common in certain isolated parts of the mountains, but they were more numerous in the past when hunting was practised without rifles.

The Tuareg estimate that the amount of meat obtained from two gazelles corresponds to the meat of one grown goat, while a big barbary sheep provides as much meat as that of four goats. Meat of barbary sheep is better suited for drying than meat of other game animals, and the thick hide of these animals is valuable for the manufacture of tents and for large bags used for the conservation on journeys of dates, grain, flour, and the like. The horns of barbary sheep are used as butter containers (Fig. 165), and some Tuareg add the powder of crushed horns to butter before heating it (cf. p. 222). Barbary sheep are of greater economic value to the Ahaggar Tuareg than other types of game, and

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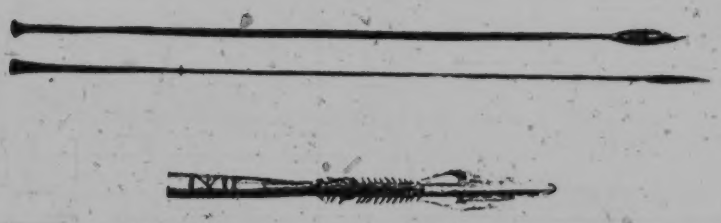

Fig. 112a–c. Tuareg spears.

a. Spear of the *tarḍa* type used for hunting. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 1.80 m (N.M. G. 1.156).
b. Iron spear of the *allay* type which is mainly a war weapon. Ahaggar, Collected by Olufsen. Dimension 1.82 m (N.M. G. 1.155).
c. Iron point of the barbed Tebu lance (*tarḍa*) occasionally used by the Ayr Tuareg. Dimension: 0.265 m (N.M. G. 6619).

224 they are eagerly pursued by many rifle-owning nomads. Lhote estimates that in the year 1939 the Ahaggar Tuareg killed 300 barbary sheep by means of their traditional hunting methods, while in the winter season 1949–50 more than 200 animals were killed with rifles in the central parts of Ahaggar [432] [640] (Lhote 1955a, p. 284). In 1954 the meat of one barbary sheep was sold for 4000 French francs, the hide for 2000 francs. Though hunting of these animals is officially prohibited by the French, it *is* tacitly permitted and meat is frequently sold at the market place of Tamanṛaset.

The traditional methods used mainly in hunting gazelle and barbary sheep are as follows:—

[411] [562] [565] (1) The spear (*tarḍa;* Fig. 112a) is nowadays used mainly by slaves, who never possess rifles. Before rifles became common it was the typical hunting weapon of all vassal Tuareg. Hunting with the spear takes place during the hottest time of the day, when the animals hide under rocks and trees to seek protection from the burning sun and the flies. It is then possible to creep very close to the game, and even the otherwise very shy barbary sheep can be taken in this way. When the hunter is close to the hiding place of a barbary sheep he claps his hand, and the animal rises, bewildered, and is then speared. In the past many barbary sheep were killed in this way, and it is said that a skilled and lucky hunter may even secure four or five animals in one day.

[171] (2) The use of stalking animals. Hunting by this method is used by some African stock-breeders (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 97 ff.). There is a detailed description of the use of camels trained for this purpose among the Arabs of the Northern Sahara (Harding King 1903, p. 171 ff.). As far as I know the Ahaggar Tuareg do not train their camels for stalking, but on journeys they frequently hide behind their animals to approach and kill gazelle. In this case the hunting weapon is normally a rifle. But the method is perhaps an ancient one and used also for other hunting weapons in the past, as game animals do not fear domestic animals among which they frequently graze in the desert. In fact,

[172] the ancient use of stalking animals in Northern Africa is clearly substantiated by a rock engraving at

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Wan Abu (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) from the pre-historic cattle-breeding period ("periode bovine"). The picture shows a hunter armed with a bow and hiding behind an ox (?) which is provided with a lead held in the left hand. The hunter approaches an ostrich and perhaps also giraffes and gazelles which are also depicted. This rock engraving was discovered by Lhote, who believes that the stalking animal depicted is an antelope (cf. Lhote 1958, Fig. 69 p. 147, p. 264).

(3) Hunting in disguise. True hunters do not use their ordinary dress of indigo or white colours during a hunt as it is seen by game animals at a great distance. The hunters use preferably a shirt and a head-cloth of yellow-brown colours which resemble the colours of sand and dry plants. I do not know whether other types of disguise are known. It is very likely (cf. Ayr Tuareg below p. 166).

(4) Hunting from artificial hiding-places. The use of artificial hiding-places consisting of walls built of stone is mentioned by Foucauld, who does not explain their use. They are known as *timuyal* (sing. *tamayilt*) (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1179).

(5) Hunting with dogs. Greyhounds and greyhound-like dogs are used in hunting barbary sheep. The dogs surround the animal and prevent it to escaping, so that it can be killed by a hunter with a spear. There are very few greyhounds among the Ahaggar Tuareg, but slender greyhound-like dogs are fairly common (cf. p. 114 f.). The true greyhounds may succeed in running down gazelle, and I was told among the *Kel Ajjer* that greyhound are trained not to kill the game but to bite its legs, and then to return to their master to lead him to the ferociously-bitten animal so that he can kill it ritually. However, most Tuareg dogs are not able to run down adult gazelle. Occasionally they catch young animals of which they are allowed to eat such entrails as are not eaten by the Tuareg. Dogs can more easily catch hares. It is said that some dogs are trained to bring caught hares alive to their masters, but most dogs are not too well fed and therefore eat on the spot the hares they catch.

(6) Riding camels are sometimes used for the running down of game animals. Gazelle can be taken in this way only if they are wounded, and barbary sheep normally graze in mountains inaccessible to camels. But it happens that barbary sheep descend into sandy plains to feed on certain annual plants, and can then easily be taken by camel riders as they get very exhausted when they have to run quickly

Fig. 113. The spiked wheel-trap (*ifetaw*) connected with a noosed rope (*tayant*) attached to a stick. The wheel is made from straw of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) bent into circular form. Small pointed sticks (*ifulan*, sing. *afula*) are inserted into the straw circle and fixed to it by means of bast of the *absey* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*) which is wrapped around the straw-wheel and the pointed sticks. The noosed rope is made from date palm bast, but frequently it is also made from *absey* bast. The small pointed sticks are made from twigs of the *ajawa* tamarisk (*Tamarix gallica*). Ahaggar, the *Ajjeh-en-tehht* tribe. Dimension of the wheel: about 0.20 m (F.M. 141 a–b).

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224 on sandy ground. This same method is also used to catch asses or wild donkeys for domestication (cf. p. 108).

(7) It has been mentioned above (p. 108) that wild donkeys are also caught by driving them into closed valleys from which they cannot escape. As far as I know the Ahaggar Tuareg do not hunt proper game animals in this way, but the driving method is used in fishing as described below (cf. p. 164).

(8) The spiked wheel-trap (*éfetaw*) (Fig. 113) connected with a noosed rope (*taṛant*) attached to a piece of wood (*aɣula*) is used to catch gazelle, barbary sheep, and donkeys. Such traps are easily and quickly manufactured by the Tuareg, and when they want to trap gazelle in this way they make a great many traps which are placed in the sand around young acacias upon which the animals feed. 143 The arrangement of the spiked wheel-trap is brilliantly illustrated in literature (cf. Lhote 1951a, photos p. 112-113; Brouin 1950, p. 454).

(9) A torsion trap (*tenderbat*) provided with a noosed rope is used particularly for barbary sheep. This trap is also depicted in literature (Lhote 1951a, p. 113; Mérite 1942, p. 185). The trap is rare in Ahaggar nowadays. The Ahaggar Tuareg claim that the trap was introduced from Adṛaṛ-n-Foraṛ. It is said to be unknown to the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (cf. Fig. 114a).

564 177 The Ahaggar Tuareg nowadays engage little in trapping in contrast to the negroid agriculturists (the *Ḥarratin*), most of whom have steel traps (*elkheniyet*) manufactured in Europe, or made by native blacksmiths on the European pattern. A few agriculturists have large steel traps to be used for gazelle, barbary sheep, and even for the big gazelle and antelope, but the common steel traps are small and are used mainly for hares (*émerwel*, fem. *témerwelt*; *abekni*; *Lepus harterti*), jackals (*ébeggi*, *aggur*; *Thos aureus* sp.), and fennecs (*akhorhi*, *érechter*; *Fennecus zerda*). Still smaller traps are used for minor rodents (*édewi*; *Gerbillus gerbillus?*) (*akundar*; *Masoutiera* sp.) and for certain birds such as ravens (*aṛaleɣ*, *taslaft*; *Corrus ruficollis ruficollis*), pigeons (*akekkemaz*; *Columbia livia targia*), turtle-doves (*tédebirt*; *Streptopelia turtur hoggara*), and sand grouse (*tékaḍewt*, *tédebirt*; *Pterocles* sp.).

223 Steel traps are now widely used, and traditional trapping methods for small animals and birds are therefore rarely resorted to. Among the *Kel Ajjer* small rodents are caught in snares (*asendi*) made of leather. Snares of this kind are known both to pastoral Tuareg and to sedentary agriculturists of Ganet and Rat. Among the latter there are also two different trap-systems used for small rodents, which in both systems are killed by a flat, heavy stone falling upon them. One of these traps is named *téselseli*. I do not know whether these traps exist in Ahaggar.

223 564 Small birds, including pigeons and turtle-doves, are caught in torsion traps by sedentary agriculturists of the oases. Traps of this kind, which are normally provided with a net (cf. Fig. 114b), are found in most oases of the Northern and Central Sahara, but I have never seen them in use among pastoral Tuareg. Pigeon, turtle-dove, sand grouse, and also partridge (*Alectoris barbara duprezi*) are caught in snares made of hair. Ten or twenty of these snares (*égefey*) are attached to a string so that several birds can be taken at the same time. Bird-snaring is practised mainly by sedentary agriculturists.

262 565 Sedentary agriculturists, slaves, and some vassal Tuareg are not squeamish. Even meat of beasts and birds of prey is eaten by certain vassals, though such animals are unclean and inedible according to Islamic rules. The meat of fennecs, jackals, and a large eagle-like bird known as *tamikkin* is eaten

[Text continues on p. 162]

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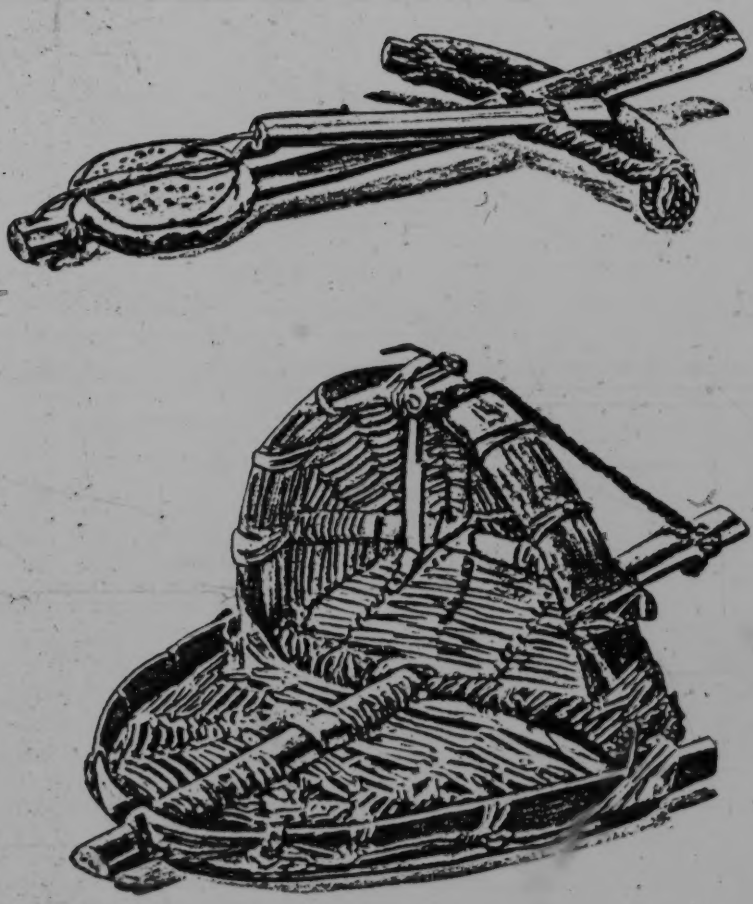

Fig. 114a–b.

a. Torsion trap of the *tenderhat* type used among the Tuareg. From the Sahara (Mérite 1942, Fig. 59).

b. Torsion trap provided with a net. This trap is known to most sedentary agriculturists of the Sahara but it is not used by pastoral Tuareg (Mérite 1942, Fig. 60).

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Fig. 115. Negroid agriculturist (*Hartani*) with a hare caught in a steel-trap (*elkheniyet*) of European type. Ahaggar.

262 565 [267] by many people in vassal tribes, and jackal's meat is popular as it is considered an excellent remedy against fever (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 146). But there are also many Tuareg who refuse all types of game with the exception of such animals as gazelle, barbary sheep, and antelope. Some Tuareg consider hare's meat unlawful, but this, perhaps, is a conception introduced with Islam, for many people of the religious *Ineslemen* class claim that hare should not be eaten because their blood resembles that of menstruating women. The food taboos strictly followed by all noble Tuareg are older than Islam: they never eat birds, eggs, reptiles, and fish.

These rules are not traditional for vassal Tuareg, though some of them have adopted the taboos of the noble Tuareg.

224 564 565 262 [432] [484] In Northern Tuareg areas two big lizzard types are found. One of them is called *agezzeram* (*dobb* in Arabic; *Uromastix acanthinurus*). This is caught and eaten by slaves, agriculturists, and by many vassals. It is frequently taken by hand, but there is also a special implement (*taskumt*, *takoda*) consisting of a stick provided with an iron crook for catching lizzards hiding in holes and under rocks. When vassal Tuareg are able to catch a great many *agezzeram*-lizzards they cut them up and dry them for sale on their regular trading expeditions in autumn to the sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt (cf. p. 210). The *agezzeram*-lizzard is said to be the ancestor (the mother's brother) of the negroid blacksmiths (*Ineden*), because the lizzard's tail resembles a file. I do not know whether the few blacksmiths found in Northern Tuareg country eat this lizzard, but do not think they do. The lizzard is not considered very delicious, and blacksmiths have emigrated from the south where it is not generally eaten.

The other edible lizzard is named *arata* (*Varanus* sp.). It is much bigger than the *agezzeram*-lizzard just mentioned, and its meat is excellent according to the taste of most Europeans. But this big lizzard

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is refused by noble Tuareg and in general also by vassals. One reason for this is that the Tuareg have a myth saying that the *ayata*-lizzard is the ancestor (the mother's brother) of the noble Tuareg. Some vassals claim that it is the ancestor of all true Tuareg, but this statement does not agree with mythology (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 61). However, this lizzard is eaten mainly by slaves and by certain agriculturists, though its meat is considered a remedy against snake-bite and scorpion stings (cf. Lhote 1951a, p. 168 f.). The head of an *ayata* is considered an excellent amulet against these poisonous animals (Lhote 1951a, p. 168 f.), and the skin of this lizzard is not only utilized for the manufacture of amulet cases but also for small bags of various types (Fig. 116a).

Small animals are not necessarily killed with any particular hunting implement. The animals may be taken with the hand or killed with sticks and stones, as is the case with the hedgehog (*ékenisi, tékenisit*), which is eaten by some people, and with small rodents. Even hares can be taken with the hand when they hide in the grass or under rocks. The hunter may then approach the hare swinging one of his sandals over his head. This, it is said, makes the animals believe that it is hunted by a hawk or an eagle, and it will therefore remain stubbornly in its hiding place. Even gazelle are sometimes taken without any proper hunting weapon. Some Tuareg say that on journeys through the barren desert country in the summer they have met gazelle so exhausted from thirst that they could take these animals with their hands. Although this is rarely possible, I know Tuareg who have crept up to gazelle hiding from the sun in daytime and killed them with a stone. Finally it can be mentioned that the

Fig. 116a–b. Two small skin bags.

a. Skin bag (*abelhoḍ n ayata*) made from the skin of the big *ayata* lizzard (*Varanus* sp.). Ahaggar, *Ḥarratin* of Taṛhawhawt. Dimension: 0.325 m long. (N.M. G. 5834).

b. Skin bag (*abelhoḍ n timerwelt*) made from hare-skin. Ahaggar, bought from *Ḥarratin* at Taṛhawhawt, manufactured in the *Afuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.350 m long. (N.M. G. 5833).

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224 Tuareg are also aware of the use of poison. I have gathered no information about this myself, but 1824 Lhote states that certain poisonous grain is used for the destruction of jackals and small rodents (Lhote 1951a, p. 43 f. & 132).

226 It is obvious that fishing cannot be an important industry to people of the Sahara, but fishing is practised in certain areas. One species of fish (*Clarias Lazera*) is found in a few permanent pools of Central Ahaggar, but it is particularly common in the numerous permanent ponds of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, where there is also another, perch-like species. I have myself caught and eaten both species. Duveyrier states that there are three distinct species in Tasilé-n-Ajjer:— (1) *asoulmeh* (*asulmey*) (*Clarias Lazera*); (2) *isattafen* (*i-settefen*); (3) *imanan* (pl. *imenan*) (Duveyrier 1864, p. 227, 238). Fishing is described 262 by Duveyrier as follows: "Les poissons des lacs de Mihero donnent lieu à une pêche qui contribue 565 à l'alimentation des serfs riverains. A cet effet, ils creusent sur les bords des lacs de petits canaux étroits, aboutissant à des réservoirs dans lesquels les poissons viennent pour y chercher une nourriture qu'ils ne trouvent pas dans les profondeurs des lacs. Quand ils y sont entrés on renferme les conduits et on les prend" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 238 f.). Another fishing method is described by Lhote: "Ils construisent des espèces de fascines avec des tiges de mrokba ou des branches de tamarix, puis, entrant à plusieurs dans l'eau ils forment une espèce de barrage au moyen de ces fascines en les mettant bout à bout et les poussent ensuite doucement devant eux. Ils prennent bien soin de draîner le fond de sorte que le poisson soit systématiquement chassé. Lorsqu'ils arrivent près de la rive opposée à celle d'où ils sont partis, ils poussent rapidement par un dernier effort et éjectent le poison sur le sable ou ils le ramassent. Ils recommencent ce manège plusieurs fois jusqu'à ce qu'ils aient capturé la majorité des poissons" (Lhote 1951a, p. 53). In Tasilé-n-Ajjer I was told about a third fishing method, namely the use of a piece of cotton (e.g., an old cotton shirt) attached to two poles. The cotton piece serves as a net over which the fish are led. There seem to be no other fishing methods, as both the fish-hook and the harpoon are unknown.

AYR

136 The Ayr Massif with adjacent plains is very rich in game in comparison with the true desert country inhabited by the Northern Tuareg. Barbary sheep (*éjjial*; *Ammotragus lervia Augusti*) are common in the mountains and also south of the Massif around the cliff known as *Falaise de Tigeddi*. Gazelle (*achenkod*; *Gazella dorcas* sp.) (*énir*; *Gazella dama permista*) and the addax antelope (*amellul*; *Addax nasomaculatus*), which are found in Northern Tuareg countries, are more abundant in Ayr where there are also bigger types of game, notably the oryx antelope (*ézem*; *Aegoryx algazel algazel*), and the giraffe (*amder*; *Giraffa camelopardalis*) which is found south and southwest of the Massif (e.g., around Ingal and Aderbissinat). The ostrich (*énhal*; *Struthio camelus*) is still very common in isolated regions of Ayr including the northern outskirts of the mountains, where I have seen flocks of more than twenty birds. There are in Ayr as mentioned above (p. 31) many bird species which are unknown or rare further north in the desert, e.g., the guinea fowl (*taylalt*; *Numida clapperioni clapperioni*) and a bustard species (*agayis*; *Choriotis arabs stieberi*). Game birds are extremely abundant in certain parts of Ayr. The birds come in amazing numbers to waterholes and open wells to drink in the evening at

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Fig. 117. Fishing pool (*aɣelmam*) in Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

136 sunset. There are wild pigeons by the thousand and innumerable flocks of guinea fowls and partridges (*Alectoris* sp.). Two species of turtle-dove are almost as common in Ayr as is the sparrow in Europe.
224 Possibilities of hunting are much more favourable in Ayr than in Northern Tuareg countries, yet, nevertheless, the Ayr Tuareg engage even less in hunting than do the Ahaggar Tuareg. One reason for this is perhaps that very few Ayr Tuareg possess guns. It is extremely rare to meet hunters in Ayr.
224 They are found mainly within one tribe, namely that of *Imedderaren* (or *Kel Tamgak*) living in the Tamgak Mountains of Northern Ayr. I have myself never visited camps of these people, but all Tuareg agree that they live largely as hunters and possess few domestic animals. Unfortunately, these people have never been studied in detail. Buchanan, who met a hunting band of these Tuareg in 1920, says that they have neither goats nor grain, but live by hunting and the collection of wild edible plants (Buchanan 1921, p. 191), while Campbell, who met them at Iferwan in 1926, describes them as hunters who also breed goats and sheep (Campbell 1928, p. 204 f.). Rodd also states that the *Kel Tamgak* have goats and sheep, but that they do not possess camels (Rodd 1926a, p. 307). This is in agreement with information gathered by myself at Iferwan where I met a few Tuareg of this group. There are
224 no Ayr Tuareg who live exclusively by hunting and collecting. The number of game animals killed

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224 annually among the Ayr Tuareg is apparently also a low one. Brouin estimates that about 200 oryx antelopes, 3–10 of the protected giraffes, and 100–1000 gazelles are killed annually by native hunters within the Cercle d'Agadez (Brouin 1950, p. 435).

Traditional hunting methods in Ayr are as follows:—

(1) Hunting by means of the spear (*tarda*). This weapon is fitted with a wooden shaft like the hunting spear used in Ahaggar, but the slender barbed spear of the Tebu is also used by many Ayr Tuareg.

(2) The use of stalking animals. Cf. the Ahaggar Tuareg above (p. 158 f.).

(3) Hunting in disguise. The Ayr hunters employ a disguise of straw. Bundles of straw are attached to the hunter's body, and the hunter furthermore carries a big straw-bundle in each hand. Walking in a bent position he is able to approach the game (gazelle and antelope) in this way. It is very probable that skin-clothing has also been used as a disguise (cf. Brouin 1950, p. 447 f.).

(4) The running down of game animals by men mounted on camels or horses is a method rarely employed within the Ayr Massif, though practised by certain Tuareg inhabiting the southern plains.

(5) Hunting with dogs. This is practised in the mountains. Barbary sheep are attacked and surrounded by the dogs, and normally killed by means of the spear. – It is said that a hunter having no dogs at his disposal can make a barbary sheep stop if he barks like a dog.

(6) Hunting by driving the animals into closed river valleys. The method is said to be used for

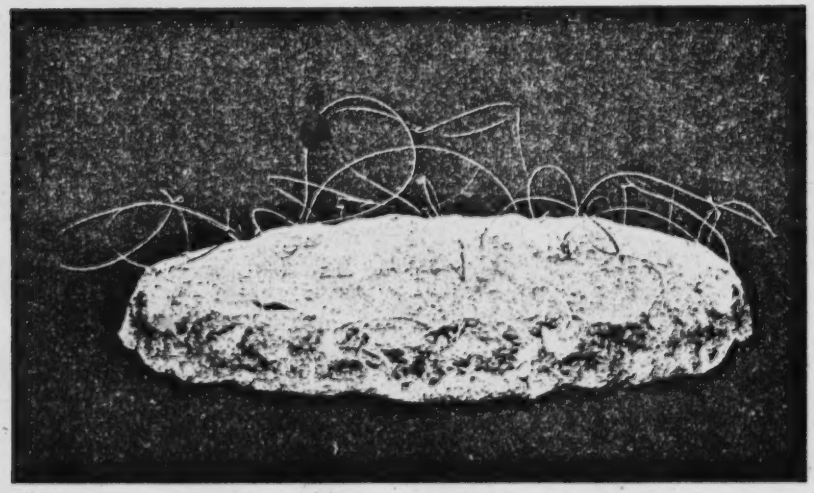

Fig. 118. Snares (*i'izegin*, sing. *tazek*) made from hair and inserted into a piece of sun-dried clay. Used for little birds which are fed with millet placed upon the piece of clay. Ayr, boys of the *Imeggedezen*. Dimension: 0.15 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 6622).

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catching wild donkeys in the mountains around the valley of Anu Mekkeren. The method is not used for proper game animals.

(7) A pulling and a throwing snare are both known as *turunt*. They are said not to be used for hunting, though commonly employed to catch wild donkeys and domestic animals which have gone astray; cf. p. 108 f.

(8) The spiked wheel-trap (*tawchit*) provided with a noosed rope (*turunt*) attached to a stick. This is used for gazelle and bigger game animals in isolated places rarely visited by representatives of the administration. According to Buchanan, the spiked wheel-trap is used for ostriches in the plains south of Ayr (Buchanan 1921, p. 117 ff.). Large traps of this type are also used for giraffe by certain hunters within the Cercle d'Agadez (Brouin 1950, p. 453).

(9) The torsion trap (*tenderbat*) akin to that of Ahaggar. It is used for big game animals, notably for barbary sheep.

(10) Snares (*tazek*, pl. *t'izagin*) made from strips of dum palm leaves are used for guinea fowl and other edible birds. They are generally set near water where birds come to drink. Little boys of the negroid *Imeggedezen* of Agadez also make snares of hair to catch small birds (Fig. 118).

These are the hunting methods known to the Ayr Tuareg, who do not engage much in hunting with the exception of the *Kel Tamgak* mentioned above. Most Ayr Tuareg refuse the small types of game and beasts of prey, and reject not only the *ağata* lizzard (*Varanus* sp.), but also the smaller lizzard known in Ahaggar as *aggezzeram*, in Ayr as *emekkechchu* (*Uromastix acanthinurus*), though it is claimed that the latter is eaten among Tuareg of the *Kel Ewey* group. The two lizzards do not play any part to Tuareg mythology – the *ağata* lizzard is greatly detested by the Ayr Tuareg who kill it with stones or sticks, whenever possible. The Ayr Tuareg, including those of noble descent, have no taboos about birds and eggs, and many pastoral Tuareg collect guinea fowl eggs late in summer after the rains. There are a few animals not mentioned above which are considered edible among the Ayr Tuareg, e.g., the tortoise (*afaras*) which is found in the plains south of the Massif. With the exception of the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg the people of Ayr do not collect locusts (*tahwalt* in Ahaggar, *achwal* in Ayr). Locusts are eaten by all people of the two Northern Tuareg groups. The animals are roasted in the ashes or are boiled in a cooking pot to be pounded in the large mortar together with dried dates. This dish is very esteemed by the women who say that it is fattening and in this way adds to their beauty.

Certain weapons have not been mentioned above because they either cannot be considered proper hunting weapons, or because it is doubtful whether they exist among the Tuareg or not.

Traditional Tuareg arms comprise an iron lance (*allaǧ*), a sword (*takuba*), and a dagger (*télek*) carried in a sheath fastened to the left arm. The iron lance may serve as a hunting weapon, and this is true also of the sword. Thus the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group said that wild animals were occasionally killed with the sword, and they claimed that two Tuareg of the past had killed lions with this weapon.

The bow (Ahaggar, *taraÿÿé* or *taǧaÑÑé*; Ayr, *taganzé*) and arrows (Ahaggar, *imurren*, sing. *amor*, *or tinassabin*, sing. *tanassabt*; Ayr, *imeran*, sing. *amer*) are not traditional Tuareg weapons. Nowadays very ineffective bows and arrows are used as toys by little Tuareg boys, but they are never used by

[text continues on p. 169]

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p. 447; Bissuel 1888, p. 94 f.; Harding King 1903, p. 272, photograph opposite title-page; Rodd 1926a, p. 235; Lhote 1955a, p. 375).

In Ayr I collected evidence of the fact that the sling known as *tfezemfes* was very common in former days. It was made from plaited dum palm leaves, but the Tuareg claim that it was not a hunting weapon, as it could not be used with precision. For the same reason, it is said, the sling could not be used for herding domestic animals – there would be a great risk of wounding them. It seems as though the sling among the Ayr Tuareg was used mainly as a toy. It has apparently disappeared, and a Tuareg of the religious *Ineslemen* class told me that the sling was a bad thing to use, because of a story in the Ḳoran of a sling that was once used to throw a man into the fire. I do not know whether the sling is, or was, used among the Northern Tuareg, but think it very likely. The sling has an extremely wide distribution in Africa, and it has been recorded from various northern Berber tribes and from the Fezzan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 214 ff.).

The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr, like pastoral Arabs of Algeria, frequently carry a short, heavy stick (*aburi*). A stick of this kind is sometimes used as a throwing stick, or throwing club, by Tuareg and Arabs, but cannot be characterized as a proper throwing stick. It is only occasionally used as a hunting implement thrown against birds and small animals and serve many different purposes. I believe that most Tuareg carry such heavy sticks as a weapon for personal protection and for killing poisonous snakes. In literature it is stated that true throwing clubs or throwing sticks occur among the Tuareg (cf. Lindblom 1925, I, p. 117, 137 f.), but they seem to be unknown both in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A large wooden club, collected at Timbuktu by O. Hagerup and now in the National Museum (Copenhagen), is rather to be considered a weapon than a hunting implement (cf. Fig. 120 b). The throwing knife that is sometimes stated to be a Tuareg weapon is not traditionally used by these people. A rare throwing knife may be introduced into Ayr from the Teda together with spears and knives of Teda type (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 202 f.).

Hunting may have been important to many Tuareg in the past when game was more abundant. Today true hunters are found mainly in tribes living in isolated and mountainous regions, notably among the *Kel Tamgak* or *Imeddeṛaren* (Ayr), and among the *Dag Ṛali* (Ahaggar). It is very interesting that proper hunting territories are found within the territory of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe, and it is significant that it is strictly forbidden to graze domestic animals withing two hunting territories where barbary sheep are also protected for a period of three months every year (cf. p. 148). It is also interesting that the Tuareg have certain age-terms which are used exclusively for game animals. Thus the Ahaggar Tuareg have three age-terms for gazelle:—

Age	Male	Female
Kid from its birth to the appearance of its horns . .	*awhim*	*tawhimt*
Animal not yet fully grown having small horns . . .	*ahyar*	*tahyart*
Fully grown animal	*ahenkoḍ*	*tahenkoḍ*

Certain superstitious usages and beliefs are connected with hunting among the Tuareg:—

(1) When a gazelle is killed its black tail-tuft is immediately cut off and placed in one of the animal's nostrils (Fig. 122). This is common practise among all Tuareg and also among Arabs of the Sahara.

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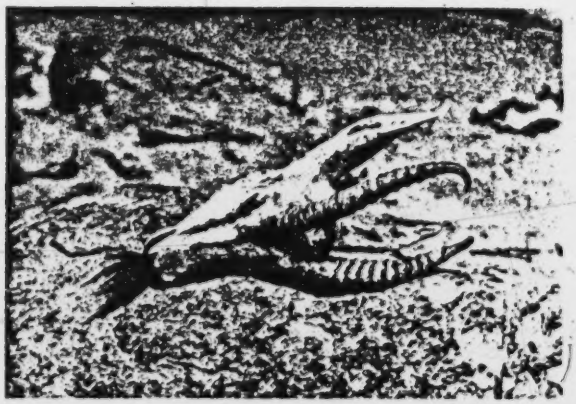

Fig. 122. Gazelle's head with the black tail-tuft inserted into one of the nostrils as a remedy against the mystic evil power called *ettama* (*tezma*). Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

This custom is believed to afford protection against the mystical power known to the Ayr Tuareg as *ettama*, or *tezma* – an evil power possessed by certain Tuareg and by all blacksmiths (cf. p. 21). A person who possesses this evil power may, if he does not receive part of the booty, spoil the hunter's luck when seeing the killed gazelle. The tail-tuft put into the animal's nostril eliminates this risk.

(2) When a hunter returns to his camp with booty he should not show the killed game to other people, and if asked about the results of his hunting trip he should deny that he has had any luck. This custom is also explained as being a protection against the evil power *ettama* (*tezma*) just mentioned.

(3) When a man leaves his camp for a hunting trip he must not talk about it, nor must it be mentioned by other people. This belief has its root in the conception of the "evil mouth" (the "evil eye") known in Ayr as *tugarchet*, in Ahaggar as *tehoț*.

(4) If a hunter has given meat from his killed game to another man, the latter should not praise it. This belief is due to the belief in the "evil mouth" – the belief that a man's luck can be spoiled by praise.

224
777 (5) In a *Dag Rali* camp I have noticed that a piece of bone of a barbary sheep was conserved in a skin bag. I was told that this was done in order that the hunter might have good luck in his future hunting of barbary sheep.

[825] (6) Certain omens bring good luck in hunting as well as in other projects, e.g., to walk between two black ravens (Ayr), or to see two black ravens (Ahaggar); to see a jackal; to see the hawk called *ahullam*; to see three gazelles.

224
787 (7) The Tuareg have various methods of divination some of which are frequently used in connection with hunting. The hunter will frequently enquire into the result of a planned hunting trip by means of a method known in Ahaggar as *igehan*, in Ayr as *igazan*. In brief the method is practised as follows:— The diviner presses his thumb or his forefinger quickly into the sand to make two rows of holes close to each other. He does not know ahead how many holes he has made in the two rows. He counts

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224 787 the number of holes in each row and makes a special sign in the sand for even and uneven numbers. There are four possibilities of different signs:— (1) A sign called *tezli* if there is an uneven number of holes in both rows; (2) A sign known as *élélli* if there is an even number of holes in both rows; (3) A sign, *eggur*, if the number of holes is uneven in the right row, but even in the left row; (4) A sign, *tamayit*, if the number of holes is even in the right row, but uneven in the left. The diviner makes two rows of holes six times successively. Each time he makes one of the mentioned signs according to the distribution of holes, and the result of his divination depends upon the character of the signs and their relative position to each other (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 151 f.). – The Tuareg have other methods of divination which are perhaps also used to predict the result of planned hunting trips. They also know to take omens from the shoulder-blades of wild and domestic animals. When a hunter has killed 262 a gazelle he will often keep the shoulder-blades for himself, and having eaten the meat he will take omens of future happenings from the structure of these bones. Such shoulder-blades will not be thrown to the dogs – they are hidden under rocks and stones (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 150 f.).

224 Some of the above mentioned usages and beliefs have been mentioned also by Lhote (Lhote 1951a, p. 180 f.), who has noted a few other customs connected with hunting:—

825 (8) If a hunter kills a snake he will get nothing. (A particular snake species known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *émegel* is never killed, as it is considered "sacred" and is referred to as a "marabut").

(9) If two men hunt together, but separate to meet later, the man who comes upon the other must not receive food from him.

(10) Handling the skin of game animals one must not put fingers into a bullet hole. This would cause bad shooting or accidents on future hunting trips, and the rule is observed even with tanned skin.

A few other superstitious usages have been recorded from Ahaggar by Captain Florimond (Rapport Annuel. Ouargla 1940). They are here quoted from Lhote 1951a, p. 181 f.:—

(11) Hunters of the *Dag Rali* take omens from the breaking of sandal straps in the pursuit of barbary sheep. If the straps passing between the toes break the hunter will kill a mule, while he will get a female animal if the side-straps break.

776 (12) When Tuareg of the *Kel Mertutek* (*Dag Rali*) leave for a hunting trip they put a stone or pebble on their heads and utter an invocation to hunting spirits which is rapidly repeated ten times.

(13) When *Dag Rali* Tuareg set out hunting they take with them a stone from a pre-Islamic tomb. When game is seen they throw this stone far away crying at their dogs: "Go! What you kill shall be *hallal* and lawful!"

777 (14) When a barbary sheep has been killed by people hunting with dogs, the head of the animal is cut off and thrown on the fire while the following words are uttered:— "The smell from the burned skin of the head of the barbary sheep shall forever flatter the hunter's nostrils so that he may have good luck in future hunting also!" Tuareg of the *Kel Mertutek* will add:— "I have taken you from the *Kel Asuf* and I have taken only the blessing they have sold you that you may soon be followed by your peer!"

(15) At the partition of killed game the meat must be handled with slow motions. If not, the dogs will lose their fierceness.

(16) It is believed that a hunter should fix a burning piece of wood in the soil by the fire in which

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his game has been prepared. If this wooden piece is removed by another hunter he will spoil all the hunting luck of the first hunter, who will then have to find the offender and spit three times between his shoulders in order to regain the lost hunting luck. If he does not find the offender he will give all his hunting dogs the following treatment:— Black powder is set on fire, and one ear of every dog is held close to the burning powder so that the dog will cry as loudly as possible. The same treatment is applied to the dogs in case anybody has handled the meat of game with rapid motions.

There can be little doubt that some of these superstitious usages are pre-Islamic, and it seems as though there is a certain connection between hunting rites and the *Kel Asuf* spirits corresponding to the *jinn* of the Arabs. This is also quite natural in view of the fact that these pre-Islamic spirits are believed mainly to inhabit the isolated areas preferred by game animals (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 125 ff.).

Game animals should always be killed ritually by cutting the throat like domestic animals (cf. p. 231). If an animal is killed by a rifle bullet, its throat is cut as quickly as possible, but the Tuareg say that even an animal killed in this way die "slowly" and that its death is not accomplished until the throat is cut. If a knife is lacking the Tuareg sometimes use a stone to beat open the throat of birds such as pigeon and guinea fowl.

[Text continues on p. 175]

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from an ancient cow-breeding culture. This we know formerly existed in the Sahara where cows are very frequently represented in rock-engravings. There can be little doubt that hump-less long-horned cattle of the *Bos primigenius* type, which are still found in isolated parts of the Western Sudan, once existed in the Sahara, and it is extremely remarkable that Huard has been able to show that horn-deformation like those practised in Ancient Egypt on *Bos primigenius* cattle, and those still practised on oxen among the Nilotes, can be proved to have been in use over most of the Sahara, where such deformation is frequently seen on ancient cattle-pictures. It may be that one or two of his examples are doubtful, but on the whole they seem to be reliably interpreted, and I think with Huard that we should take the rock-engravings of the Sahara as a proof that the so-called East Hamitic Culture was formerly represented all over North-west Africa (cf. Huard 1953, p. 75–106, and notably 1959, p. 109–131). Long-horned cattle seem to have been found among the Ancient Libyans (cf. Bates 1914, p. 96), who according to Baumann also possessed traits in common with the East Hamitic Culture. We do not know when the nomads of the Sahara stopped to breed long-horned and humpless cattle, but the Ayr Tuareg, who are now zebu-breeders, claim that cattle-breeding is not an ancient occupation among them. They seem to hold that cattle were rare in Ayr even as recently as up to the beginning of the French penetration, and they claim that they know less about cattle than about other domestic animals. They also have rather few cattle terms compared with the extensive glossary for other domestic animals. It might be contended that the milking customs of modern Tuareg are derived from an ancient cattle-breeding culture of the Sahara but in general this is not the whole explanation, for it seems as if some of these traits have been introduced or re-introduced into the Sahara with camel-breeding, which originated in the same area from which the East Hamitic Complex must have come to Africa.

Our last problem is to consider Tuareg culture in the light of the so-called *Eurafrican Steppe-Hunting Culture*, which Baumann believes to have existed over most of Africa. He finds remains of this culture among the Ancient Libyans, and he thinks that certain rock-engravings of the Sahara prove that this primitive hunting culture was once widely distributed in the desert, while at present the steppe-hunting culture is mainly preserved on the outskirts of the Sahara. It seems as if the Tuareg have very few elements which can be placed within this culture. They lack the bow and arrow and also the true throwing stick or throwing club, they do not use parts of animals for disguise, and they do not poison water places to kill game, though in pre-European times they killed their enemies in this way. They know the spiked wheel-trap stated by Baumann to be an Eurafrican trait, but I believe with Lindblom and Lagercrantz that this hunting device is not so ancient (Lindblom 1928; Lagercrantz 1950, p. 98), and it can be mentioned in this connection that the torsion traps are also comparatively late arrivals (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 103 ff.; Lips 1927, p. 271). This may be the case also with dog hunting as practised to-day, for greyhound-like dogs are probably not the oldest hunting dog. Hunting barbary sheep with dogs and spears is depicted in a rock-engraving near Rat (cf. Frobenius 1933, pl. 28a), but, as generally the case with rock-engravings, it cannot be dated. A type of greyhound was known already in prehistoric Egypt (cf. Adametz 1920, p. 86 ff.; Antonius 1922, p. 124 ff.) which may perhaps also be considered the cradle of Tuareg greyhound-like dogs, while the true greyhound, or *sluki*, was introduced to North Africa by the Arabs. The use of stalking animals is most

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Tent skins derive from domestic animals or from game animals. In older literature one can find a reference to Tuareg tents made of a sheet of camel skin (cf. Denham & Clapperton 1826, p. L). However, we have already seen that the Tuareg do not tan camel hides and they are not used for tent sheets. The Northern Tuareg use the skin of goats, sheep, zebu-calves, barbary sheep, antelope, and gazelle. Goat skin is most commonly used, skin of barbary sheep is considered the very best type of tent skin, while gazelle skin is rarely employed as it is very thin. According to Lhote, the *Kel Adrar* Tuareg generally use the skin of barbary sheep (Lhote 1947a, p. 108). The Ayr Tuareg use the skin of goats, sheep, and zebus. It is most possible that some Tuareg also use skin of game animals, but most Ayr Tuareg engage very little in hunting, though barbary sheep are very common in certain parts of the Massif. In the southern plains of the *Iwllemmeden* there are no barbary sheep. According to Nicolas, the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* use for their tents the skin of sheep, goats, gazelle, and sometimes even the skin of ostriches, but they do not use zebu skin which becomes very hard and shrinks when heavily moistened during the rainy season (Nicolas 1938, p. 54 & 1950a, p. 155). The *Iwllemmeden* and their *Béla* of the Ayoru region use the skin of goats and sheep for tent-sheets.

Tent skins are prepared in the same way as skins used for transportation bags, dress articles, and the like. They are depilated and tanned according to the methods described on p. 275 ff. After tanning they are treated with butter, and are thereupon soaked to be rubbed and coloured with red ochre, these treatments making the skins impervious to water. A tent sheet is always made of several pieces of skin which are sewn together with leather thread by means of a little awl known as *tistent* (Ahaggar), or *éstan* (Ayr). The edges where the skins have to be sewn are made even with a knife, while the outer edges of the sheet are left largely unfashioned so that the circumference of the sheet is of very irregular shape with protruding patches of leg or neck skin. These patches of skin frequently serve for the attachment of the cords by means of which the sheet is suspended. When two pieces of skin are sewn together a narrow leather strip is inserted between their edges before sewing. Loose ends of leather thread hang down from the inner side of the sheet to serve as a kind of decoration, and in Ahaggar the tents are also frequently ornamented with hanging patches of leather with a carved decoration (cf. Fig. 182). On the whole the Tuareg of Ahaggar take a great interest in their tents. They like to have richly-decorated dwellings, and when a tent is made for a newly-married couple, the women do their outmost to make the sheet very beautiful. These aestethic feelings seem to be unknown in regard to other types of dwelling used among the Tuareg, including the mat tent, and I think that they are responsible for some Tuareg using skin tents even when other dwelling types would be more suitable. I believe this to be true, the more so as the skin tent among the Northern Tuareg plays a great part in the wedding ceremony, which is called *éhen*, that is "a tent".

It is evident that the number of skins to be used for a sheet greatly varies; if a sheet is made from goat skins it may be estimated that a tent of normal size in Ahaggar comprises about 35–40 skins, but very large tents with sheets of 60–80 skins are found among rich noble Tuareg and also in the *Dag Rali* tribe. A tent from Ahaggar now in the Ethnographical Collection of the National Museum in Copenhagen has a sheet sewn together from a great many skin patches, and it measures 4.00 × 3.85 metres (N.M., no. G.1; cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 139). This is perhaps to be considered a normal size of skin tents among the Ahaggar Tuareg, though the sheet is generally somewhat more rectangular in

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173 565 tradition according to which some of the *Isebeten* formerly engaged in agriculture in Ahaggar (Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 535). The *Isebeten* spoke a Tuareg dialect different from that spoken to-day.

[172] Numerous prehistoric survivals draw attention to the mode of livelihood of the ancient *Isebeten* people. A huge tomb at the foot of the Asekrem mountain is said to contain the remains of their supreme chief, *Akkar*, and the Tuareg say that the large stone pestles (cf. Fig. 200) commonly found in Ahaggar, were used by the *Isebeten*. The existence of the *Isebeten* in Ahaggar is a fact, besides, two men known as *Mokhammed ag-Kerku* and *Émenni ag-Khedidda*, both members of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe, are said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten*. Tuareg of the *Dag Ṛali* claim that their tribe descends from the *Isebeten*, or is very closely related to it, so that the ancient population of *Isebeten* formed the ancestral tribe of the oldest vassals *Dag Ṛali* (*Kel Ahnet*) and *Ayt Lowayen*. These *Isebeten* were conquered by the ancestors of the noble Tuareg who came to Ahaggar at a later date and introduced the camel.

It is striking that this tradition about the origin of the oldest Ahaggar vassals from the ancient *Isebeten* contains no mythical elements, and I believe that it holds an element of truth, the more so as it explains the origin of the class division in a quite natural way. Dr. Vycichl has tried to connect the word *Isebeten* with the name of a Libyan tribe *I-s-b-t-u* mentioned in Egyptian accounts, according to which the tribe was exterminated by Rameses III (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 145). However, there is no reason to speculate about the name in this way, as it can be explained more naturally without much

[551] difficulty. For the word *Ésebet* is very frequently used as a personal name of women in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe so that it would seem natural to interpret the name *Isebeten* as "a group of people descending from the woman *Ésebet*". If this interpretation is correct it would seem that the ancient *Isebeten* had

[114] [428] a system of matrilineal succession. Lhote has stated that certain hunting territories in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe are inherited in the paternal line by people who descend from the ancient *Isebeten* (Lhote 1955a, p. 144 f.) but this is not in agreement with my own investigations, which show that the two men said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten* have no rights over hunting-territories.

174 614 565 The cultural features said to have been characteristic of the ancient *Isebeten* are to a large extent conserved even nowadays in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. These vassals, like other true vassals of Ahaggar, are known by the name *Kel Ulli*, that is "the goat people", or by the name *Imṛad* which perhaps also refers to goat-breeding for, according to Nicolas, the word is related to *eṛeyd* meaning "a kid" (Nicolas

[433] 1950a, p. 189). We can add that even to-day the subsistence activities of the true vassals centre mainly around goat-breeding, with hunting and collecting as subsidiary occupations. Hunting is particularly

● [224] important to the *Dag Ṛali*, descendants of the *Isebeten* and living within the same territory as did this ancient people.

173 565 As to the arrival of the noble Tuareg, comprising the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Taytoḳ*, said to descend from *Ti-n-Hinan*, there is some evidence that they did not constitute the oldest noble Tuareg settling in Ahaggar. The tradition of their descent from *Ti-n-Hinan* claims that these noble Tuareg came from Tidikelt in Morocco, that they descended from the *Beraber*, and that they were Islamic. The claim that they were Islamic cannot be easily reconciled with the view that their ancestress was buried in the large tomb or fort at Abalessa, for this huge building is beyound doubt pre-Islamic. I think it possible that the tribes said to descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* were Isamic when they immigrated to Ahaggar.

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judicial or military authority, and the vassals could complain over their noble lords to the drum-chief, whom they could even dismiss if dissatisfied with him.

In some Tuareg groups the vassals were not allowed to possess camels, and it is interesting here to mention that among certain East African peoples cattle or productive cows are owned only by people of a noble or aristocratic class (cf. Roscoe 1923a, p. 51; 1923b, p. 2, 15; Oberg 1940, p. 130; Maquet 1954, p. 29, 171). Where Tuareg vassals owned camels the noble Tuareg had the right to make use of these animals, and even to-day there are vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar who give their milk-yielding she-camels to the nobility.

In some Tuareg groups there seem to be traditions in favour of the theory that the class-division, which forms the basis of most Tuareg political systems, arose as the result of the conquest by pastoral camel-breeders of nomads or semi-nomads subsisting mainly on goat-breeding. We have mentioned that the word *Kel Ulli*, which means literally "the goat people", are used as a generic term for vassals among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg. We have also seen that the word *Imṛad* is used for "vassals" in all groups, and it perhaps also refers to goat-breeding with the meaning of "a kid" (cf. p. 408). If this latter explanation be correct it might seem that the word "*Imṛad*" was originally a contemptuous term, and this is in accordance with the fact that vassals among the *Kel Ahaggar* do not use this term, and do not like to be known by it, though they have nothing against the term "*Kel Ulli*".

Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar. Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's milk, while vassals, although they may be rich in camels, attach much importance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble Tuareg use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, but they are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women do not generally ride camels, but donkeys, which are never ridden by noble women. Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects, and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:— (1) In noble tribes bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal tribes it is one to three camels, alternatively perhaps goats. Among vassals of Tasilé-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. (2) The noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas true vassals use earmarks for donkeys, as they do for goats. However, in one vassal tribe, the *Dag Ṛali*, donkeys are marked in both ways. (3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. (4) The noble Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post which is said to be peculiar to the tents used by noble Tuareg. (5) The bandoleer known as *tirzemin*, or *ibeyderen*, perhaps connected with camel-riding, is said to have been used originally among noble Tuareg and not among vassals. (6) The noble Tuareg do not eat birds, eggs, fish, and reptiles, while vassal Tuareg will not refuse food of this kind. It can be added that elements of an ancient hunting culture are found particularly among vassals, who use the hunting spear with a wooden shaft, the spiked wheel-trap, and other ancient hunting methods. There are other distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, but the two originally distinct cultures have largely merged. Certain noble Tuareg to-day have large flocks of goats which, however, are tended exclusively by slave women. Apart from sewing, embroidering,